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AND
ALEXANDRIA GAZETTE.

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AND
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TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS,

THE period for a new election of a Citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be cloathed with the important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now appriſe you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impression with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the out-set, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the encreasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the stedfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected.——Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent an use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments; which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of Government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very Liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immoveable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you, in your natural capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manner, habits and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the Independence and Liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprize and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *South*, in the same intercourse, benefitting by the Agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated:—and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted.—The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensible *outlets* for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*.—Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations;—and what is of inestimable value! they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government is inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty: In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of Patriotic desire.—Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere! —Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorised to hope that a proper organization of the whole with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground have been furnished for characterising parties by *Geographical* discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*—*Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great-Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to

those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensible—No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government—But, the constitution which at any time exists, 'till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprizing minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of factions, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reigns of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles however specious the pretexts.—One method of the assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensible. Liberty will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you, the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind.—It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controuled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissentions, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormitits, is itself a frightful despotism.—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual: and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns his disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the Public Councils, and enfeeble the Public Administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the will and policy of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of Liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in Governments of a Monarchical cast, Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And their being constant danger of excess, the effort of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country, should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power; by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern: some of them in our own country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the People, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed.—The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensible supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and Citizens. The mere Politician, equally with the pious man ought to respect and cherish them—A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure; reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge.—In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expence by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expence, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear.—The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate.—To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be Revenue; that to have Revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures of obtaining Revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; Religion and Morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free enlightened, and, at no distant period a great Nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a Nation with its Virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular Nations, and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The Nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject: at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of Nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another, produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite Nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite Nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the Nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained: and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearance of a virtuous sense of obligation a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent Patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the Public Councils! Such an attachment towards a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to the satellites of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy to be useful, must be impartial; else it be-

comes the inſtrument of the very influence to be avoided, inſtead of a defence againſt it.—Exceſſive partiality for one foreign nation, and exceſſive diſlike for another, cauſe thoſe whom they actuate to ſee danger only on one ſide, and ſerve to veil and even ſecond the arts of influence on the other.—Real patriots, who may reſiſt the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become ſuſpected and odious; while its tools and dupes uſurp the applauſe and confidence of the people, to ſurrender their intereſts.

The great conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as poſſible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us ſtop.

Europe has a ſet of primary intereſts, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence ſhe muſt be engaged in frequent controverſies, the cauſes of which are eſſentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it muſt be unwiſe in us to implicate ourſelves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary combinations and colliſions of her friendſhips, or enmities.

Our detached and diſtant ſituation invites and enables us to purſue a different courſe. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance: when we may take ſuch an attitude as will cauſe the neutrality, we may at any time reſolve upon, to be ſcrupulouſly reſpected; when belligerent nations, under the impoſſibility of making acquiſitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation: when we may chooſe peace or war, as our intereſt, guided by juſtice, ſhall counſel.

Why forego the advantages of ſo peculiar a ſituation? Why quit our own to ſtand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our deſtiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and proſperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalſhip, intereſt, humor, or caprice.

It is our true policy to ſteer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world; ſo far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be underſtood as capable of patroniſing infidelity to exiſting engagements. I hold the maxim no leſs applicable to public than to private affairs, that honeſty is always the beſt policy. I repeat it, therefore let thoſe engagements be obſerved in their genuine ſenſe. But in my opinion, it is unneceſſary and would be unwiſe to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourſelves, by ſuitable eſtabliſhments, on a reſpectable defenſive poſture, we may ſafely truſt to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourſe with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and intereſt. But even our commercial policy ſhould hold an equal and impartial hand, neither ſeeking nor granting excluſive favors or preferences; conſulting the natural courſe of things; diffuſing and diverſifying by gentle means the ſtreams of commerce, but forcing nothing; eſtabliſhing, with powers ſo diſpoſed, in order to give trade a ſtable courſe, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to ſupport them; conventional rules of intercourſe, the beſt that preſent circumſtances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumſtances ſhall dictate; conſtantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for diſintereſted favors from another; that it muſt pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character, and that by ſuch acceptance it may place itſelf in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illuſion which experience muſt cure, which a juſt pride ought to diſcard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, theſe counſels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the ſtrong and laſting impreſſion I could wiſh: that they will controul the uſual current of the paſſions, or prevent our nation from running the courſe which has hitherto marked the deſtiny of nations; But if, I may even flatter myſelf, that they may be productive of ſome partial benefit, ſome occaſional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party ſpirit, to warn againſt the miſchiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard againſt the impoſtures of pretended patriotiſm; this hope will be a full recompence for the ſolicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the diſcharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct muſt witneſs to you and to the world. To myſelf, the aſſurance of my own conſcience is, that I have at leaſt believed myſelf to be guided by them.

In relation to the ſtill ſubſiſting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793 is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your voice, and by that of your Repreſentatives in both Houſes of Congreſs, the ſpirit of that meaſure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the beſt lights I could obtain, I was well ſatisfied that our country, under all the circumſtances of the caſe, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and intereſt, to take a neutral poſition. Having taken it, I determined, as far as ſhould depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perſeverance and firmneſs.

The conſiderations with reſpect to the right to hold this conduct, it is not neceſſary on this occaſion to detail. I will only obſerve, that according to my underſtanding of the matter, that right, ſo far from being denied by any of the Belligerent Powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which juſtice and humanity impoſe on every nation, in caſes in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of intereſt for obſerving that conduct will beſt be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to ſettle and mature its yet recent inſtitutions, and to progreſs without interruption, to that degree of ſtrength and conſiſtency, which is neceſſary to give it, humanly ſpeaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my adminiſtration; I am unconſcious of intentional error: I am nevertheleſs too ſenſible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be I fervently beſeech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I ſhall alſo carry with me the hope that my country will never ceaſe to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its ſervice with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be conſigned to oblivion, as myſelf muſt ſoon be to the manſions of reſt.

Relying in kindneſs in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is ſo natural to man, who views in it the native ſoil of himſelf and his progenitors for ſeveral generations; I anticipate with pleaſing expectation that retreat, in which I promiſe myſelf to realize, without alloy, the ſweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midſt of my fellow Citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I truſt, of our mutual cares, labours and dangers.

GO: WASHINGTON.

United States, 17th Sept. 1796.

Alexandria, Sept. 24.

The length of the Preſident's Addreſs, which we have the pleaſure this day to lay before our readers has precluded ſome intereſting European details, with which we otherwiſe would have preſented them,—viz.

Letters from General Jourdan and the Commiſſioners with his army, reſpecting the capture of Frankfort, on which they have impoſed a contribution of 37 millions of florins—Official account of the ſurrender of Milan to the French—Articles of the Armiſtice concluded between the French Republic and the Pope; among the conditions the Pope is to yield to the French a hundred pictures, buſts, vaſes and ſtatues at the choice of commiſſioners to be ſent to Rome, among which are ſpecifically comprized, the buſts in bronze of Junius Brutus, and that in marble of Marcus Brutus, both placed in the capitol. Alſo to deliver up five hundred manuſcripts, at the choice of the ſaid commiſſioners. And pay twenty-one millions of French money; of which fifteen million five hundred livres ſhall be in ſpecie or ingots, the remaining five millions five hundred thouſand livres in goods, merchandiſes, horſes, &c.

By an arrival at Philadelphia, it appears that France has *formally* declared war againſt Portugal. From this circumſtance, we may conclude, that having ſettled matters to her liking in Italy, ſhe has determined on bending her force againſt this latter power and the blotting another nation out of the catalogue of monarchies.

War between Portugal and the States of Holland appears to be highly probable. We have already ſtated that the court of Liſbon has laid an embargo on the Dutch ſhipping to their ports. It is equally true, that the Batavian government has taken the ſame ſtep with reſpect to the Portugueſe veſſels in their ports.

An article under the Vienna head of July 6 mentions that there need no longer be any doubt entertained of a ſpeedy peace; bets are even laid by people of high rank, who may be well informed, that in leſs than three months peace with Auſtria and France will be effected.

We have received a letter from Port-au-Prince, dated the 20th Auguſt, which after mentioning the affair of Capt. Jeſſup, his cruel treatment by Capt. Pigot, &c. which have been fully detailed in this Gazette, goes on to ſtate—that "all at once the proceedings againſt Pigot were ſtopped, and reports ſay, that "*the root of all evil.*" ſoftened all the ſtripes and healed Jeſſup's beaten back—800 glittering golden guineas ſaid to be the cure. We hope on his arrival in America, he will be able to ſhew that he is not that deſpicable wretch we here take him to be."

G. U. S.

Judge Benſon has accepted the appointment of third commiſſioner for ſettling the true St. Croix river—he is to proceed immediately for Portland, where he will embark for St. Andrew's to meet the other commiſſioners.

[Argus.]

SAVANNAH, SEPT. 6.

Yeſterday arrived Brig Bellona, Capt Crooker, 7 days from N. York. Off Charleſton ſpoke a pilot boat who informed him that a prize brig had been ſent into Charleſton, from Commodore Barney's ſquadron, which gave information of his falling in with and taking 100 ſail of the Britiſh Weſt India fleet, on their homeward bound paſſage.

BOSTON, SEPT. 15.

IMPORTANT!

Extract of a letter from a maſter of a veſſel to his owners in this town, dated

"*Cadiz, June 20.*

"This day a poſt arrived from Gibraltar, and brings accounts that fourteen American veſſels have been taken by the Algerines and other Devils up the Streight."

WILL BE PUBLISHED AT THIS OFFICE,

On Monday Morning,

IN A NEAT POCKET PAMPHLET,

The Preſident's Addreſs

TO THE

CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Price 3-16ths of a Dollar.

For Freight or Charter,

THE SHIP

UNION,

Burthen (per regiſter) about 280 tons—a fine ſtrong ſhip, and ſails well, is juſt from her firſt voyage from Liſbon, is in complete order to receive a cargo—now laying at Baltimore, but would have no objections to come round to Potomack to load.—For terms apply to William Prentiſs, at his Store, the corner of Pitt and King-Streets, or at Greenleaf's point, in the city of Waſhington, or the ſubſcribers at Fell's Point, Baltimore.

ROB. DASHIELDS & SON.

Sept. 24. 3t.

A Valuable Mill and Lands for Sale.

THE Mill is ſituated on Broad Run, in Prince William County, below the Manufacturing Mill. The Mill-houſe is 2 ſtories high, has two pair of ſtones in it, and good hoiſting tackle for country work: It could at a very ſmall expence be converted into a Manufacturing Mill, as the houſe is calculated for that purpoſe, and the ſituation a very favorable one. Adjoining the Mill is a tract of near 500 acres of tolerable good Land, which I would diſpoſe of either with or without the Mill. I have alſo a tract of Land in Fauquier County, of 205 acres, which lies near the Oaks tavern; the buildings of it are a very good dwelling houſe, ſpin-houſe, granary, blackſmith's ſhop, and out houſes; a part of this land is of excellent quality, and the whole of it good farming land, and particularly favorable to the growth of white wheat. I have alſo ſeveral ſmall tracts of land in the upper part of this county in the neighbourhood of the Red-Houſe, which I wiſh to diſpoſe of—The Mill and different tracts above deſcribed, can be ſhewn at any time by applying to me at Bockland, or to Samuel A. Love, in my abſence.

JOHN LOVE.

Buckland, P. Wm. County, September 24. 3t.

Potomack Company.

THE Stockholders in the additional Capital of the Potomack Company are required to pay to William Hartſhorne, Treaſurer, on or before the firſt day of November next, twenty per cent. on the amount of each ſhare by them held.

☞ In conſequence of a failure in payment by the holders of one ſhare in the additional Capital of the Potomack Company, the ſaid ſhare will be expoſed to ſale by public auction, at the Union Tavern in George-Town, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon of the firſt Monday of November next.

Thoſe who may have buſineſs with the Directors will pleaſe to take notice, that their meetings will be held alternately on the firſt Monday in each month, at George-Town and Alexandria.

TOBIAS LEAR, Preſident.
JAMES KEITH,
J. TEMPLEMAN.
JOHN MASON,
Direct'rs

George-Town, Sept. 13.

On Friday the 30th inſt. will be ſold at the Vendue Store, a quantity of

Low priced Iriſh Linens,

at a credit of 60 days, for approved negotiable notes.

MARSTELLER & SONS.

Sept. 22.

AT a Meeting of the Board of Directors held on the 3d of September, '96, at the General Office of the Mutual Aſſurance Society againſt fire on buildings in this State:—Reſolved that the following be publiſhed.

Doubts having ariſen under the Conſtitution, Rules and Regulations of the ſaid Society, whether thoſe who had paid their premiums unto the Caſhier-general, had their property inſured from the day of payment. The following queſtion has been ſubmitted to John Marſhall, John Wickham, and Edmund Randolph, Eſqs.—to wit:

Are thoſe perſons who have paid, or may hereafter pay, their reſpective premiums entitled to the benefit of aſſurance, under the law conſtituting the ſociety, and the conſtitution, rules, and regulations thereof, before the premiums upon the certified value of buildings to the amount of 1,500,000 *dollars are paid?*

Who have each given his opinion at large, all agreeing, that the inſurance takes place from the day of payment, although the premium to the amount of 1,500,000 dollars have not been paid in; and although the policies have not iſſued. And as it appears that thoſe who have given in their declarations are bound to pay the premiums, with an intereſt thereon, and may be ſubject to pay for their proportion of loſſes, in addition, although they are not to have the benefit of inſurance until they pay their premiums, will readily ſee in how diſadvantageous a ſituation they ſtand while they remain delinquents.

By order of the Directors,

WILLIAM F. AST,
Principal Agent.

THE partnerſhip between the ſubſcribers was diſſolved on the 14th inſtant by mutual conſent. The books of the company are lodged with Burr Powell. Thoſe having demands againſt their concern, as well as thoſe indebted to it, are requeſted to call on him for ſettlement.

BURR POWELL.
JOS. LEWIS, Jun.

Sept. 17. 3t.

FOR SALE,

A LEASE for three lives unexpired on Fifty Acres of Land within one mile of the Red-Houſe, in Prince William County, on the main road leading from Pennſylvania to Carolina. The land is of firſt rate quality, and part of it will make excellent meadow. It is well watered and timbered. On it there is Fencing, a Store Houſe, a Dwelling Houſe, Kitchen, &c. The leaſe is ſubject to an annual rent of five hundred pounds of Tobacco. It is in a rich neighbourhood, and is thought an excellent ſtand for a retail ſtore.

ARESS BUCKNER } Attorneys for
JOHN MUNCASTER } Jas. H. Hooe.

N. B. The Premiſſes will be ſhewn, and terms made known, by Areſs Buckner, in Loudoun County, within ſix miles of the premiſſes.

Sept. 23. 1m.

Notice.

ALL perſons having juſt claims againſt the Eſtate of Joſeph Cockrell, dec'd. of Fairfax county, are deſired to bring them in properly atteſted—and all thoſe indebted to the ſaid Eſtate by bond or otherwiſe, are deſired to make immediate payment to the ſubſcriber, or he ſhall deal with them as the law directs, that he may be enabled to ſettle the claims againſt ſaid eſtate.

H. GUNNELL, Adm'r.

Sept. 22, 3t.

NOTICE.

MY wife Catharine having eloped from my bed and board, I hereby caution all perſons from crediting her on my account, as I am determined not to be anſwerable after this publication.

MAURICE MOORE.

Clifton Mills, Sept. 14.

A few quarter caſks of excellent old Sherry Wine for ſale by

JOSEPH SAUL.

Vice Conſulate d laRepublique Françaiſe.

ATTENDU le départ prochain du ſouſſigné pour France, tous les Citoyens Français et Americains qui ont des Actes enregiſtré au Bureau du Vice Conſulat de cette ville, et qui déſirent en retirer expéditions, ainſi que ceux qui ſoubaitent prendre des certificats de reſidence ſont invités de ſe préſenter avant le 1 Vendemiaire prochain (22 Sep. 1796 V. S.) daprè lequel tems tous les papiers et regiſtres dudit bureau ſeront transferéésa Norfolk par ordre du directoire exécutif.

P. A. CHERUI.

Alex. 8 Fructidor au 4 ann. de la Republique, Françaiſe une et indiviſible (24Aouſt, 1796, V. S.)

Vice-Conſulſhip of the French Republic.

WHEREAS the near departure of the under-written for France, all French and American Citizens, who have deeds recorded in the office of the Vice Conſul at of this town, and deſire to take copies of of them, as well as thoſe who wiſh to take certificates of reſidence, are deſired to come to the ſaid office, before the firſt Vendemaire next, (22d Sept. 1796, O. S.) after which time all papers and books belonging to the ſaid Office will be transferred by order of the French Executive Directory, to Norfolk.

P. A. CHERUI.

Alexandria, 8th Fructidor, 4th year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible, 24th Auguſt, 1796. (O. S.) 1m.

Juſt come to hand,

AND NOW OPENING,

FIVE FOURTHS Iriſh ſheeting, Ruſſia do. ¾, ⅞, 4-4 Iriſh Linens, humhums, and fine Coſſea muſlins, India bandannas, do. flagg, Pullicat handkerchiefs Bengal ſtripes, cloak ſattins and modes, lute ſtrings, taffaties, and Perſians, plaid manti for gentleman's war, French cambricks, cotton do. long lawns, faſhionable ſilk ſhawls, fancy work'd muſlin do. Ladies' long and ſhort ſilk gloves, do. beſt French kid do. gentlemen's ſpun ſilk do. large aſſortment of the moſt faſhionable ribbons, lace, and edging, painted, japan'd and tambour'd muſlins, &c. &c, cravats, work'd and colour'd borders, Gentlemen and Ladies ſilk purſes. Ladies ſtraw and paiſt-board hats and bonnets, fully dreſſed, do. undreſſed, vellum modes and gauze handkerchiefs *for trimming* Ladies hats and bonnets, black, white and coloured feathers, Ladies necklaces and beeds. Gentlemen's white hats, green bottoms, childrens do. aſſorted colours. An elegant aſſortment of Ladies' tambour'd, kid, morocco and Spaniſh leather ſlippers and ſandals, court and ſpring heels maids, girls and children do. all of which are London made, and of the neweſt faſhion. Woman's leather ſhoes and ſlippers, girls and children do. do. ſtuff do. Gentlemen's Philadelphia made ſhoes, men's plain and ribbed cotton hoſe, Engliſh and French white, plain and patent ſilk do. Ladies ſuperfine cotton hoſe, maids, girls, and children's do. tambouring needles and caſes, and tambouring ſilk, Coventry blue threads in grain, marking ſilks, &c. &c. &c.

ALSO,

A few cheſts of the beſt Hyſon Skin, Souchong, Hyſon Gomee, Young Hyſon TEAS. Freſh nutmegs and mace, Leiper's Snuff in bbls. containing 9 dozen each, in pound and half pound bottles. Rappee do. in kegs and ½ lb. bottles.

The whole of which will be ſold very low for caſh.

JOHN DARBY & Co.

Auguſt 18.

STOLEN,

ON the night of the 5th of Auguſt, from an encloſed field of Thomas Greenwood's, on the highroad leading from Baltimore to Alexandria, and within one mile of the former town, a handſome IRON-GREY MARE, riſing five years old, near 15 hands high, branded on the near ſhoulder and thigh with the letter G—the latter much worn out, and is a natural trotter. I will give 8 dollars on delivery of the Mare to me in this town, and 12 dollars on proſecution of the thief, on information given to Mr. James Keatinge, Bricklayer.

JAMES ROBINSON.

Sept. 22.

A Houſe to be rented in

Battle-Town, finiſhed for a ſtore. The ſtore room is 18 feet ſquare, the compting, 12 by 18, with a good ſtone chimney. Both rooms are lined with plank. For terms apply to the ſubſcriber in Battle-Town.

JOHN NELSON.

JOSEPH CARY

HAS for ſale at his Warehouſe in King Street, adjoining Meſſrs. James Patton & James Dykes,

Jamaica Rum in puncheons,

Hollands Gin in quarter caſks, Liſbon wine in pipes and quarter caſks, Malaga in quarter caſks, ſherry in do. Teneriffe in hogſheads, Whiſky in Tierces and barrels, Porter in caſks, Muſcovado Sugar in hogſheads and barrels, Salt in ſacks, a few hundred weight well cured bacon, and about 1000 Cedar poſts. Alſo a Lot of ground on Royal ſtreet oppoſite Dr. Muir's, containing 40 feet front and 96 feet deep, with the benefit of an alley.

July 2. t.f.

JOHN EMERY,

PLUMBER AND SHOT MANUFACTURER,

NOW wiſhes to inform the Citizens of Alexandria and its vicinity that he hath rented a ſhop at the head of Fairfax Street; where he intends to carry on the above buſineſs in all its various branches—ſuch as ſheet lead, either caſt or milled, from four pounds the ſquare foot to fourteen; Wall Pipes, for conveying water from the roof of the houſe, with ornamented heads, which come cheap and are durable; water pipes of any bore for conveying of water to any diſtance; lead pumps put down any depth, which will come cheaper than wood conſidering its durability, and is ſweeter and colder, and the ſubſcriber will engage to keep it in repair for one dollars per year. Likewiſe ſath leads for windows, and ſhot of all ſizes from Briſtol B. down to muſkard leed. Ship Plumbing, viz. hawſer hole leads and ſcuppers, pumps. &c.

Thoſe gentlemen that wiſh to encourage this uſeful branch in this town may depend that the greateſt punctuality will be paid to their orders. Every part of the buſineſs will be executed with diſpatch, on the ſhorteſt notice, on the moſt reaſonable terms and in the neateſt manner. by their humble ſervant,

JOHN EMERY.

Auguſt 11.

Ten Dollars Reward.

SEDUCED from my employ on Tueſday night the 21ſt day of June laſt, a negro woman ſlave named HANNAH, by Will Goddard, who reſides in this town, the property of Benjamin Dulaney, Eſq. The above named ſlave is about 30 years of age, 4 feet 9 or 10 inches high, ſtout made, round faced, and full eyes—when cloſely queſtioned, ſtammers a little in her ſpeech, and is eaſily ſurprized—took with her ſundry good cloathing; one black hat, a new ſcarlet cloak, two callicoe ſuits, one or two oznaburg do. one blue twilled cloth jacket lined through with oznaburg, a new pair of leather ſhoes, two pair of white cotton ſtockings, marked H. I am led to believe that the ſaid Goddard has furniſhed her with paſs and aided her in getting to Baltimore. All perſons are forwarned from employing or harboring the ſaid ſlave at their peril. Any perſon ſecuring the ſaid ſlave in any goal, or delivering her to me in Alexandria, ſhall receive the above reward, and if brought bome reaſonable expences will be allowed

GEORGE SLACUM.

Auguſt 12.

Andrew Zelefro,

TAYLOR & HABIT-MAKER,

BEGS leave to inform his cuſtomers, that he has removed his ſhop in Royal ſtreet, next door to Mr. W. S. Thompſon's where he intends carrying on his buſineſs with punctuality and diſpatch—he embraces this opportunity of returning his thanks to thoſe who have favored him with their cuſtom, & and hopes, by a due attention which he promiſes, a continuation of the ſame.

September 1. 1mep

One Guinea Reward.

RAN AWAY from the Little Fall of Potomack, about two weeks ago, NEGRO CHARLES, about 25 years of age 5 feet 9 or 10 inches high, and has a placid countenance. He went, it is believed, towards Alexandria. The above reward will be paid for ſecuring him in gaol, ſo that he may be had again.

JOSEPH FORREST.

George-Town, September 7.

Oliver Price will, on reaſonable terms, board ſix or eight creditable perſons.

Sept. 17.

STATE OF MARYLAND.

Robert Ferguſon & others, *vs.* Robert Carter and Hebe, his wife, George Grayſon, Robert Grayſon, & Alfred Grayſons and others, heirs of William Smallwood, of Charles County, late deceaſed. } In Chancery, Auguſt 4th, 1796.

THE object of the complainant's bill is to obtain a decree for the ſale of the real Eſtate of William Smallwood, late of Charles County, deceaſed, or ſo much thereof, as is neceſſary for the payment of the debts of the deceaſed. And it appearing to the Chancellor as ſtated in the bill, that Robert Carter, and Hebe his wife, Robert Grayſon, Alfred Grayſon, and George Grayſon are reſpectively reſidents of the Commonwealth of Virginia, and without the proceſs of this Court, and that the ſaid Hebe, George, Robert, and Alfred, infants and others are intereſted in the ſaidreal Eſtate, which deſcended to them as heirs at law of the deceaſed. It is thereupon adjudged and ordered, that the complainants cauſe a copy of this order to be publiſhed at leaſt three weeks ſucceſſively in the News papers of Edwards and Co. of Baltimore Town, and in ſome one of the Alexandria news papers, before the firſt day of October next, to the intent, that the guardian or guardians of the ſaid defendants, or that ſuch of the defendants as are of free age may have notice of their (the ſaid complainants) application to this court, and may be warned to appear here on or before the 1ſt Tueſday in November next, to ſhew cauſe, if any ther be, wherefore a decree ſhould not be paſſed as prayed by the bill.

Signed,

SAMUEL HARVEY HOWRAD
Reg. Cu't. Chy'

ALL perſons who are intereſted are deſired to take notice, that I Jacob Michael of Richmond, in the State of Virginia, purchaſed of Mary Magdalena Henneuger, daughter of John Frederick Hennenger, late of the town of Alexandria, in the ſtate aforeſaid, deceaſed, all the right and intereſt which ſhe had in equity or otherwiſe to any lands of which the ſaid John Frederick died ſeized. And the ſaid Mary Magdalena having been born in Germany, and not rendered a citizen of the United States; I do intend to petition the next Aſſembly to confirm the right transfered to me by the ſaid Mary Magdalena, and to grant unto me the intereſt of the ſtate in any land of which the ſaid John Frederick died ſeized.

JACOB MICHAEL.

September 1.

Frederickſburg Races.

THE former meeting of the ſubſcribers to the Races to be run near Frederickſburg being very thin, and the rules eſtabliſhed by ſaid meetings being thought by a number of ſaid ſubſcribers, this day aſſembled, inadmiſſible; the following rules and regulations are finally agreed upon, viz.

The Races will commence on the third Tueſday in October next, over the courſe on the ground of Mann Page, Eſq.

The firſt day's Purſe, Four hundred dollars, free for any Horſe, Mare, or Gelding.

The ſecond day Three hundred dollars free for any horſe, mare, or gelding, the winning horſe the firſt day only excepted.

And the third day for the balance of the ſubſcription, together with the entrance money; free for any horſe, mare or gelding, the winning horſes the two preceding days only excepted.

No perſon or perſons will be permitted to ſtart horſe, mare, or gelding, for either day's purſe, unleſs he ſhall ſubſcribe ten dollars, and pay an entrance of eight dollars.

The firſt day's race four mile heats; the ſecond three mile heats; and the third, two mile heats; carrying weight agreeable to the rules of the late Bowling-Green Jockey Club.

☞ Subſcribers are directed to pay immediately unto Mr. Larkin Stanard, the amount of their ſeveral Subſcriptions, who is authoriſed to act as treaſurer, to have the field in proper order, &c.

Frederickſburg, Sept. 1.

FOR SALE,

EIGHT Hundred and fifty eight acres of Land, ſituate in Loudoun County, within two miles of Middleburgh. This tract is at preſent divided into five tenements, on which are comfortable farm houſes, and the land is well calculated for farming. The terms of ſale may be known upon application to Major Powell, in Middleburg, or to the ſubſcriber.

JOHN D. ORR.

Sept. 8. tf

ALEXANDRIA——PRINTED, EVERY TUESDAY, THURSDAY, AND SATURDAY, BY ELLIS PRICE, AT THE EAST END OF THE MARKET-HOUSE.